2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

LARGER POLITICAL UNITS

Local groups were to a great extent independent, or at least autonomous, politically. They were nominally subject to the khans or sultans who at different times succeeded in gaining a measure of supremacy in different parts of the steppe. The khanates, however, were not, except for brief periods under an exceptional ruler, strong centralized states. Rather they were a combination of tribal confederacy and feudal union, the constituent parts of which were continually tending to break off and form new groupings. Levshin writes:[12]

". . . [leurs] chefs . . . ne commandent pas, sans bien des exceptions, à des races, à des tribus entières, ni même à des sections de tribus, mais à des bandes, à des partis souvent composés de gens appartenant à des sections de tribus, de races ou même de hordes différentes.

Levshin uses "tribu" and "race" in the sense of the larger genealogical uru strata. His statement further indicates the lack of correlation between genealogical and political groupings.

It is clear from the above that the ordas themselves were not political units, at least at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Meyendorff[13] says of the Great Orda that it had no one ruler but was broken up into a number of independent sections each with its own khan.[14]

Such khans held their position partly by virtue of descent from the heirs of the empire of Chingis but more particularly and practically by the extent to which they were able to rally around themselves the great cattle owners, the leaders of the auls. Here there was a clash of interests. The khans were eager to increase their authority over the local chiefs while the latter sought to retain the highest possible degree of independence.[15] This conflict expressed itself in frequent transfers of allegiance on the part of the aul leaders to other khans.[16] To a certain extent the relationship between the khans and the local chiefs was comparable to that between the chiefs and their own dependents in so far as there existed reciprocal obligations of protection on one hand and service on the other. The analogy must not, however, be pushed too far because the dependents of the local leaders were seldom sufficiently strong to defend their own interests.

The more important khans surrounded themselves with a considerable court consisting of their relatives, councillors, bodyguards, servants, and slaves.[17] It is interesting to note here that Atkinson[18] observes that every khan also had his merchant and mullah, both of whom were very important personages about the court. Some of the khans entered actively or through their agents into commercial relations with the settled regions.[19] Traveling

[12] *Idem*, 395–96.
[13] *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 53.
[14] See also Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 2: 674.
[15] Togzhanov, *O Kazakskom Feodalizme*, 128–29.
[16] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 393.
[17] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 82.
[18] *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 452.
[19] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 94.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

631 merchants played an important part in the diffusion of sedentary cultural traits, and it is
643 possible also that the growth of the mercantile interests of the aristocracy tended to increase disparities of wealth between Kazak classes.[20]

[642] It is difficult to get precise information on how the government of the khan functioned and what were the channels of administration. Although he was surrounded by a number of advisers, usually his relatives, there is little evidence of departmentalization or division of responsibility. Further there was no system of administrative units graded into a series of subdivisions. The relation between each local group and the khan was direct.[21]

651 The most important function of the khan's court, certainly from the point of view of the khan, was the collection of tribute, or taxes (alɓm). This took the form, not of regularized imposts, but of occasional demands. Levshin writes[22] that Kazak chiefs had the right to exact tribute from their subjects in the form of cattle and other goods but such tribute was not paid according to any fixed rule and, by my information, perhaps only when the payer happened to feel the need of standing in the good graces of the khan for the sake of protection. But Levshin adds that by divers unregulated means the khans exacted from their subjects a substantial revenue.

The local leaders, however, were generally not averse to assisting in the collection of such taxes because the burden did not fall on them directly. They simply passed on the tax to their own subjects, taking advantage of the opportunity to add on a comfortable percentage which they retained for themselves. Kargabaiev could remember such taxes being discussed by his father, but his information was scanty and generalized. He was sure, however, that everyone, rich and poor alike, was expected to contribute one out of every ten sheep annually for the support of the mullah and also to donate to him all their old clothes. The last detail adds a touch of verisimilitude to an otherwise extremely bald narrative. It was also a frequent proceeding for the bij and aqsaqal to levy local taxes on their own authority.

[701] The demands for taxes arrived in the form of a decree (ɟarlɨq) from the court of the khan. Similar decrees might be issued calling upon local officials to supply the khan with a certain number of fighting men for a particular occasion. Apart from the bodyguards and personal attendants of the khan there was no standing army. After the fighting everyone went home.

643 From what has been said above of the composition of the khanates it is obvious that there was no generally recognized principle of succession to the khan's power.[23] At his

[20] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394, who points out that the interests of the Mongol khans coincided with those of the Moslem capitalists.

[21] Asfendiarov, personal communication.

[22] *Description des hordes*, 393–94.

[23] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 60, who in a strong criticism of Howorth writes: " . . . the author should have known something of nomadic life and its political organization, in which there can be no question of a regular order of succession to the throne or of elections according to legal forms, yet he seriously examines the

2: Hudson 8-4, 5 (1936) 1938 BQ8 Kazak RQ2

death, according to my informants, a brother or a son might succeed or the heritage be divided among several sons. This made for smaller and smaller subdivisions until they were presently welded again into one when a particular ruler gained supremacy over the others. The death of a khan was normally followed by a civil war, with the local leaders taking sides with one or the other claimant or cautiously remaining neutral until it became clear which was likely to emerge victorious.

There are references[44] to meetings or councils to settle questions of general policy for the khanate. Such gatherings, however, cannot be said to have been of a democratic nature; Levshin[45] describes them as composed of the chiefs, the great warriors, the rich and the elders, "avec des troupes de curieux." The right to participate in such councils was not clearly defined; those who considered themselves entitled to do so took part and their words bore weight according to their personal prestige. It does not appear that any decisions which might be arrived at were binding upon anyone. Grodekov[46] was told that the meetings "did not change their customs."

The loose nature of the bond between the khan and the local groups has been indicated above. It is very difficult to speak of centralized, or at least responsible, government during the greater part of Kazak history. The point which I wish to emphasize again, however, is the lack of correlation between the genealogical "tribal" groupings and the political unions. There is little evidence of any graded series of political subdivisions or hierarchy of officials. Reverting again to the diagram on page 20, the bij and aqsaqal of the Davlet group, for example, were not in any way subordinate to the bij and aqsaqal of the Esqoça group. The two groups were quite independent, united only in their common if tenuous allegiance to their particular khan. In any given case moreover such similarly related groups might be subject to two different khans.[47]

In practice, however, there were instances of something approaching a dependence of one local group upon another, when a new uru group was in the process of development. There were for example a few families from Davlet consisting of about thirty tents who formed a semi-detached unit by themselves. They had their own headman, also called aqsaqal, who regulated the affairs of his few families but was generally influenced and controlled by the bij and aqsaqal of Davlet. Such a situation could doubtless be duplicated frequently. All groups were of course not of the same size and the smaller and weaker sought protection from the stronger. As the smaller groups increased in size they became independent equals of the established units.

question which of the Chingizids in one case or another had the best right to the throne, and whether the election of this or that khan was legally valid."

[44] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 25; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 397; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 622–22.

[45] *Description des hordes*, 397.

[46] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 25.

[47] Here I am giving my own inferences from the general character of the information. The informants agreed that the above statement was true in principle but could furnish no concrete illustration. Kargalaiev was very uncertain about the larger political affiliations of his own group.

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631 The relations between such independent local groups[1] were not markedly affected either
642 by genealogical groupings or by political affiliations. Thus war might be carried on between
721 two uru closely connected by descent from a common parent group, or between parent group and offshoot, or between two unrelated groups both owing allegiance to the same khan.

721 Such local wars, "barantas" (barïsnta), were usually considered as reprisals for damage
628 done by one group to another. They might continue for generations and take on the nature of hereditary feuds.[28] It is difficult at this time to obtain precise data on their cause and origin. According to my informants they usually resulted from thefts of cattle, raids on hay fields, and personal injury or murder committed by members of one group against those
[627] of another. Such episodes in inter-group relations would normally first be referred to a meeting of the bij and aqsaqal of both groups. The meeting was called bitim, literally "peace" or "truce." Here an effort was made to fix responsibility and the amount of damages to be paid in compensation for the injury done. If the immediate parties concerned were not particularly important individuals a decision agreeable to the leaders of both groups would probably be reached amicably and the offending party ordered to pay the proper fine. If, however, the principals to the dispute were both influential men in their respective groups the meeting would probably end in a disagreement because a judge would rarely agree to a decision counter to the interests of a powerful member of his own group, who would probably be his close relative. In case of such a deadlock the man who considered himself the injured party might gather his own followers, and if sufficiently influential his whole uru, and proceed to make a small scale war upon his adversary. Such wars might indeed be major military operations if the importance of the individuals concerned were sufficiently great.

It therefore becomes difficult to distinguish between barantas as cases of personal revenge and as wars involving whole uru which were obliged to support the interests of their leaders. Levshin, however,[29] describes an instance of a baranta of a private nature entered upon by an individual to collect damages to which he was entitled by judgment of the court but which had not been paid. In this case, according to Levshin, the injured party was authorized by the chief of his aul to exercise reprisals, but on his return was obliged to swear that the amount of damage which he had done or booty which he had collected did not exceed the amount of the original claim. Levshin[30] states elsewhere that whereas formerly a baranta was only entered upon after deliberation by the chiefs in cases of culpable refusal to pay judgments, in his time any malcontent who could gather around him a band of followers might attack the herds and dwellings of his enemy.

628 The essential problem connected with the subject of baranta is the extent of solidarity
565 of the uru and its collective responsibility for injuries done to its blood members. Here it is

[28] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 302, 349–51, 400, note 1; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 454.
[29] *Description des hordes*, 400.
[30] *Idem*, 349.

1 [see cat. 116, p65 -- Analyst]

tions between close kinsmen and the non-payment of penalties and debts for relatives. /13/ Among the Kazakhs we find the following proverbs concerning clan relationships. 618

Do not go hunting with a man of a strange clan. He will prevent you from shooting by being close beside you.

A fool will forget where he was born.

It is better to have a foal from your village /aul/ win a race than a horse of a strange village.

It is better to be a herder in one's own clan than emperor among a strange people.

He who does not know the names of his seven ancestors is a traitor.

A person who lives together with us still does not become a kinsman. A person who is a kinsman cannot become a stranger.

The dog does not forget the place where he ate, the man does not forget the place where he was born.

It is possible to be born together, but it is impossible to live together.

Do not call your own a bad kinsman, do not call your own eye (guard) bad, and separate him from the good.

In the law of 1867 on the administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya oblasts it was recognized as necessary to divide the nomadic population into volosts and villages in order to divide the Kazakh clans, for it was considered bad from the political point of view to unite a large clan under the rule of one clan chief. On this basis volosts were formed in 1867 which were mixtures of various clans as much as possible. But leaving the nomads the right to transfer from one volost to another made it possible for them to evade the designated aim of the government, which was to weaken the clan principle. 631● 618

In order to sum up the results of the constant transfers of the Kazakhs from one volost to another in the period from 1867 to 1884, data was called for from the uyezd chiefs of the Syr-Darya region, from whom the following answers have been received. 631 618 178

1) The chief of the Auliye-Ata uyezd explains that since /14/ the time of formation of the volosts the clan principle has lost its original importance to a considerable degree. This is supported by the following: a) in the people's courts those who swear the oath are no longer appointed by the biis as from such and such a clan or division to which the defendant or accuser belongs, but from the volost, village, group of fifty or group of ten to which they belong; b) when the guilty are unable to pay the fine of livestock for their criminal deeds, the [695]

631 kinsmen (1) are not brought in, but the people in the same village as
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1. Note 1 to item 161 of the Draft of a code on the Administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya Regions: "If in the commission of a crime, damage is inflicted on state or private property, the guilty person, in addition to his personal penalty by law, is sentenced to compensate for the damage. In case of insolvency of the guilty person, the payment of the damages among the Kazakhs is referred to his kinsmen, on the basis of customs."

the defendant. Then, depending on the size of the fine, either the whole village takes part in the payment of the livestock, or only those 50 or 10 tents to which the defendant belongs; c) the transfer of nomads from one volost to another or from village to village takes place, for the most part, to acquire land rights for agriculture, since at present the nomadic population attaches very great importance to
[672] land use; d) the baranta /form of legal or approved private seizure of
579 livestock/ has now ceased to a great extent. Robberies are very few.
694 After murders it is not necessary to go the place where the blood was shed to receive staisfaction. It is not necessary to revert to force for suits and offenses, since if satisfaction is not received, they can turn to the Russian authority, which will force the people's courts to try the the case and satisfy the plaintiffs. Therefore in all cases of this kind there is no need of seeking protection among kinsmen; e) Now there is no seizure of land by one clan from another, which might cause other clans to unite among themselves for purposes of defense.

631 In spite of all this, an attraction to their clans does exist,
618 although some clans belong to several volosts. This is supported by influential persons, the representatives of their clans, since the clan principle helps to maintain /15/ their importance among the people and helps in collecting a majority of votes in elections. (1) This

1. The persons of the native administration, /namely/ the volost administrators and the village elders, are elected by the people, and the appointment is confirmed by the oblast or uyezd administration.

attraction is stronger in those volosts which are composed almost exclusively of one clan, with villages from one branch. However in the villages kinship in the female line is acquiring great importance.

The vagueness and imprecision of the borders of the volosts and villages also adds to the importance of the clan origin. There are cases, quite often, in which Kazakhs belonging to one volost or one village occupy land for farming and winter camps in other volosts and villages. The organization of the land and the exact determination of the borders of the volosts and villages will have an enormous influence on the destruction of the clan principle. When every village has its own allotment of land then a transfer of tents will take place only for economic considerations and not to collect a majority of votes for one's kinsmen.

2) In the opinion of the chief of the Turkestan uyezd, the administrative division of the Kazakhs into villages and volosts has not by any means achieved its goal, and the clan principle is strongly maintained, as before. This is assisted, among other things, by the fact that the volosts were organized by clans or by branches, and all the transfers of Kazakhs from one volost to another were caused by a desire for clan unity.

3) The chief of the Kazalinsk (2) uyezd states that the division

2. On the transfer of the Kazakhs from volost to volost to their kinsmen, and on the force of the clan rulers in the steppe along with the volost administrators, see the article by E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi oblasti" /From the life of the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya region/, in Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, No. 17. In 1887 Mr. Aleksandrov writes: "Up to the present time a weakening of the clan principle has not been perceptible. In this respect the law of 1867 has not had the force of a destructive action."

into volosts and villages with elected functionaries, has suppressed to a considerable degree the striving of the kinsmen to play the leading role or to influence the administration by the people. /16/ A land demarcation of the volosts would have had a still greater influence on the suppression of the clan principle. Even now Kazakhs of one clan [423] but in different volosts, even in those very far apart, for the most part nomadize together on lands which they consider to be of the clan. For this reason they often do not allow villages to use the land although the latter have a greater right to it because of their permanent residence in those places and their revival of irrigation canals.

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4) The chief of the Kurama uyezd reported that there were no strong Kazakh clans in that uyezd, since its residents had already come here in small groups or singly during the Moslem rule. In transferring from volost to volost, the strong clans do not willingly separate their members, and the latter also are not anxious to break away from their clan. Those who do transfer are mostly the poor from broken clans. The Kazakhs who have strong kinsmen live more prosperously, because the rich help their poor kinsmen in difficult moments, and often pay assessments for them, while the poor pay for this in their turn by their labor. With the breaking up of the clans the poor, being left to their own devices, grow poorer from year to year, having no strong hand indirectly leading them. According to the opinion of the chief of the uyezd, the morality of the Kazakhs belonging to a large clan is considerably higher than the morality of the newcomers from broken clans. This is explained by the fact that the clan administration has not lost its importance even now, and the chief of the clan in the midst of the Kazakhs has even more influence than the Russian administration.

5) The Chimkent uyezd is occupied by Kazakhs of the Great horde, and the nomadic life is retained in absolute purity among them. Here every Kazakhs knows well what his clan is, his lineage and even his sublineage. The clan principle has been retained in full force, and with it the power of the kinsmen. The right reserved to the nomads to transfer from volost to volost has made it possible for the Kazakh clans to unite, and at /17/ the present time some single clan predominates in every volost. The volost administrator is elected from this predominant clan, and he plays the role of kinsman at the same time. The village elders are also elected primarily from the chief clan. Not one of the volosts of the Chimkent uyezd has territorial boundaries, and the tent proprietors in most of the volosts are scattered over the entire uyezd. Although the elective principle has weakened the power of a single kinsman in an entire lineage, it has brought with it the formation of a small clan aristocracy, the atkamnars. (1) The atkamnars are mostly former officials of volosts,

1. Atkamnar literally means "rider of a horse", and in a figurative sense, a rich person.

or biis, or officials of villages, or even of groups of fifty. Since persons influential in the clan are elected for all these posts, 20 to 150 tents of adherents and relatives remain around them even after they havebeen replaced. The atkamnar is considered the patron of

his adherents. He acts as their representative at elections and in court cases.

In confirmation of what has been said, we enter below a list of the volosts of the Chimkent uyezd, with an indication of the number of tents in each clan within the volost.

Aktash volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	889 tents
		Sikym	93 tents
		Seuvan	38 "
		Total	1,020 tents
Akmolinsk volost	Clans:	Sty	956
		Oshakty	228
		Kangly	16
		Kongrad	2
		Total	1,202
Arys volost	Clans:	Kongrad	1,160
Aksu volost	Clans:	Dzhanys	884
		Chimir	841
		Sary Aisiun	40
/18/		Dzhagalbaily	62
		Sikym	139
		Argyn	9
		Botpai	3
		Total	1,978
Bairkum volost	Clan:	Kongrad	1,462
Bishtamgaly	Clans:	Sirgeli	156
		Sty	900
		Oshakty	289
		Dzhalair	134
		Total	1,479
Buraldaev	Clans:	Chimir	1,053
		Sikym	8
		Abdan	9
		Total	1,070
Karabulak volost	Clans:	Sikym	1,036 tents
		Shenshkyly	65
		Sirgeli	90
		Chimir	128
		Total	1,319 tents

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Karamurt volost	Clans:	Sikym	1, 344 tents
		Shaprashty	94
		Abdan	80
		Argyn	20
		Kangly	15
		Sty	19
		Botpai	20
		Oshakty	10
		Kirgiz	20
		Sirgeli	15
		Total	1, 637tents
Kazykurt volost	Clans:	Dzhanys	1, 421 tents
		Aiban	150
/19/		Sikym	50
		Sty	47
		Total	1, 368 tents
Kungei-Sirgeli volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	849
		Dzhalair	162
		Total	1, 011 tents
Mailikent volost	Clans:	Chimir:	1, 312 tents
		Kangly Shenshkyly	413
		Dzhanys	50
		Botpai	251
		Total	2, 026
Sarykul volost	Clans:	Kongrad	1, 455 tents
		Argyn	19
		Kerei	17
		Total	1, 491
Sirgeli volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	1, 827 tents
		Kongrad	12
		Total	1, 839 tents
Tilik volost	Clans:	Sty	1, 599 tents
Chayan volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	1, 034 tents
Chilik volost	Clans:	Naiman	705 tents
		Argyn	249
		Kypchak	152
		Hodja	154
		Total	1, 160 tents/sic/
Chul volost	Clans:	Sikym	900 tents
		Dzhagalbaily	156
		Total	1, 056 tents

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Dzhanys volost Clans:

Chegyr	416 tents
Dzhanys	603
Sirgeli	11
Total	1,030 tents

/20/

6) The chief of the Perovsk uyezd reported that the administrative division of the uyezd into volosts and villages existed only officially. Actually, the volosts and villages are composed either of Kazakhs of one clan or of clans which are close to each other, and this is confirmed by the following. Three volosts, located north of Perovsk, belong exclusively to the Kypchak clan, and although there are 150 tents of Argyn and 200 tents of Naiman among them, these have no importance among the Kypchaks because of their small number, and are under the influence of the Kypchaks. The Kintub volost is composed exclusively of Dzhappas and the Dzhappas clan also rules in the Tsarskaya volost, the Konstantinovsk, the Samurunovsk and the Chagan volosts, over the less numerous Bakhtiar, Hodja, Tazlar, Naiman and other clans. The Dzhumartov volost is composed of Kereit, the Bayuzak volost of Tabyn. The Karmakchi volost consists of Alshyn and Kereit, the Nikolaevsk Kysbugut and Yany-Darya volosts are composed of Chumikei, and the Akkyr volost contains Kete. The nomads are grouping themselves in their clans by means of frequent transfers.

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The custom according to which the Kazakhs live and are judged has the Turkic name zang, or the Arabic name adat.

The origin of the zang, it must be supposed, is concealed in in that remote time when all the Turkic peoples now scattered over Asia lived one common life. This is proven among other things by the fact that such strongly Mongolized branches of the Turkic people as the Yakuts, Buriats, Tunguz and other Siberian natives have many customs in common with the Kazakhs. (The Collection of Customary Law of the Siberian Indigenous Peoples by D. Ia. Samokvasov). These common customs are: the clan principle, kalym /the bride price/, the bride's belonging not to the individual but to the clan, the exchange of daughters without the bride price, the term terkun with the meaning of "relative of the wife, the father's house of the wife", the fine of two head of cattle for stealing (among the Buriats), the expiatory oath, the disavowal from which conviction is established (among the Buriats), the /21/ increase of the punishment on the repetition of theft (among the Yakut), banishment for the fourth

[137 cont.]

175 Having spoken in passing of the ancient Kazaks' way of life to show their resemblances to those of today, let us return to what the Oriental writers teach us about them.

This people has been known in Asia for a very long time. As one of the branches of that very numerous race, the Turks, it is no less ancient than the Naimans or the Kirgiz, or any of the [136] Asiatic peoples of the same race. The Kazaks came under the domination of Chingis Khan, and after the death of the conqueror passed in appanage to his son Djuchi, but although they belonged to the Golden Horde, they kept their own khans. For this reason they were sometimes under the dominion of their own main chiefs, and sometimes were joined to the Chagatai horde, that of Almalyk, or that of Tashkent, which was later called the Mogul Ulus.

After the weakening of the powerful states of Djuchi and Chagatai, internal disputes arose within many of the descent lines [races] belonging to the sons and descendants of Chingis Khan, especially among the nomads. The Uzbeks, who had seized Maverannahr and Khorezm, became the most powerful. But not all the peoples contributing to the disorder came under their sway. Some of them joined the Crimean Tatars, others the Mogul uluses, still others the true Tatars, that is, those of Kazan, and finally some joined the Kazak horde. All this took place after the fall of the Golden Horde. Later, when the Uzbeks split up, many of their branches fused with the Kazak horde. In this manner two powerful states were formed at the beginning [138] of the 16th century, in the Kipchak and Chete steppes. The first of these states, the Mogul Ulus, was headed by Khan Dadam, while the second, ruled by Arslan, khan of the Kazaks, was so powerful that it could raise an army of 400,000 men. This is found in the writings of Sultan Baber, founder of the famous empire of the [148] Grand Mogul in India. He gave one of his nieces in marriage to Arslan Khan and was an eyewitness to his power.

175 In this period several branches or tribes of many of the peo-
●631 ples known in the history of the Orient, and which broke away
727 from the Golden Horde, were united with the Kazaks, either voluntarily or by force. It was at this time that the Kipchaks,

[138 cont.]
175 Naimans, Konrads, Djalairs, and Kankly mingled with the
[631 Kazaks, and their names are preserved in the descent lines,
727] tribes, and most powerful sections of the Kazak hordes.

After joining the Kazaks, some peoples, such as the Durmans, Karluks, etc., parted from them once again to rejoin the Uzbeks. But the Kazaks were reinforced from another side by various Turkic tribes [races] who joined them at the time Tashkent was taken by Shabakht Khan and after the complete destruction of the Mogul Ulus, overthrown by Khan Abdulla.

[69] We should speak here of the descendants of Khan Arslan and of the destiny of the Kazak peoples under their dominion, as well as of the successive revolutions to which they were exposed and the quick overthrow of the power which they had acquired under Arslan. Instead of this, we will content ourselves
[114] with saying that the Kirghiz-Kazak led a nomadic life, had no chronicles nor any other historical monument of this nature, and, consequently, it is impossible to write a complete and coherent history about them.

Nevertheless this people did not remain entirely unknown to us after Arslan Khan. After having lost the thread of events described by the Oriental historians, we begin to find the Kazaks again, or, as they are called [139] today, the Kirghiz-Kazaks, in the works of European travelers and in Russian chronicles; and independently of the evidence which they furnish us, we have the archives to guide us, which preserve unimpeachable testimony of Russia's specific relations with different peoples of Asia.

Herberstein is the first of the European historians (1) to

1. Herberstein arrived in Moscow for the first time in 1517 and for the second time in 1526. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. VII, notes 165 ff.

speak of the Kazak horde. Having twice been ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor to Tsar Ivan Vasilievich, and having

[149 cont.]

175 643 728 669 bloodshed caused for several years by the quarrels of certain tribes among themselves. He compelled everyone to obey him by his wisdom and equity. He caused the weak tribes to reunite in order to resist the strong ones, and forced the latter to be peaceful. He gave them all the laws by which he judged them, and their memory is still preserved among the wisest Kazaks, but unfortunately they are not carried out (1).

1. See the article on the form of government in the statistical section /of this book/. [Not translated.]

175 643 In spite of all his services and his influence among the hordes, Tiavka apparently did not enjoy wide power over his people, and used prudence, experience, his connections, and his cleverness more than force. As leader of all the Kazaks, he lived in Turkestan, as did his father and grandfather. He chose three chiefs, whom he held dependent upon himself, to govern and watch over each particular horde. These were: Tiul, in the Great Horde, Kazbek in the Middle Horde, and Aitiak in the Little Horde.

175 631 173 We speak here of the division of the Kazak people into three hordes, without having said when and how this took place. Unfortunately, this event is a mystery to us, and we have no way of determining anything in this regard. We do not know how much to believe of a folk tradition which says that a powerful Kazak khan divided all his people among his three sons, and that those [150] given the eldest son were called the Great Horde, those to the second, the Middle Horde, and those to the youngest son, the Little Horde (1).

1. The Kazaks translate the word "horde" by iuz, which means "hundred" or "century." This is why they say ulu-iuz ("the great hundred"), urta-iuz ("the middle hundred"). However the word iuz also has other meanings in Turkic.

175 [150 cont.]
631 We could not find any information on Pulat, son of Khan
173 Tiavka and father of Abul Mahmet, who is found in the table.

175 The traditions say only that the calm re-established by
721 Tiavka did not last long among the Kazaks. Dissensions and troubles began again, and the neighboring peoples were quick to profit from them. On the west they were attacked by the Volga Kalmuks [Kalmyk], and on the north by the Bashkirs and the Cossacks of Siberia. But the most terrible of all were the Dzungars to the east. At this time their chief was the powerful Kungtaidji Galdan Tsyren, who not only made all the nomadic peoples tremble but also spread terror in Russia and China. In this unfortunate situation, the Kazaks could not expect help except from the power of Peter the Great, whose vast genius, concerned with the glory and welfare of his people, watched over the Asian border while he had the most important dealings in Europe.

176 Prince Gagarin was governor of Siberia at that time. The
648 Tsar commanded him not only to open relations with the Kazaks,
662 but to help them, if possible, against Galdan Tsyren, in order to put some check on the continual increase of power of the Dzungarian leader. Gagarin carried out the Tsar's commands in 1717, and the Kazak khans, Tiavka, Kaip, and Abulkhair (2)

2. We have drawn this information from works and translations /Sochineniia i Perevody, k Polze i Uveseleniiu Sluzhashchiia/ of January, 1760. See the article on the "golden saber" /Izvestie o pesotnom zolote v Bukharii... (On the Gold [43] Dust in Bukharo)/. The Khan Tiavka in question must be the famous legislator of the Kazaks of whom we have spoken. But at this time he was already very old. His weakness and the loss of power which ensued, were no doubt the cause of the election, while he still lived, of the khans Abulkhair and Kaip, whose names we see here for the first time (the year 1717).

[287 cont.]

[648] This khan could not distinguish himself in such a short time and under such harassing circumstances. Yet his mind and his inclinations to support the Russian government in its views could have made him truly of service to his people.

[643] When the news of his death was received in St. Petersburg, the Empress commanded that inquiries be made among the Kazaks concerning whom they wished to have as khan and especially to find out their attitudes toward Sultan Ishim, eldest son of Nurali.

[554] The latter had long been known for his attachment to Russia and was deserving, both for his personal qualities and the respect of the people, of inheriting the rank which had belonged to his father, his grandfather, and his most distant ancestors.

[631] Events served to lend greater force to his rights. The Little Horde was divided into two factions, the first under the name of Sultan Abulgazi, being obedient to Syrym, his ally and his rival, and the second ruled by Ishim. Russia could not count upon the first, for she had already had to suffer much mischief from it, and could still expect only hostile acts on its part. The second group included the sultans and elders who were most attached to Russia, and thus she could not act otherwise than to prefer it and to give privileges to its leader.

[643] [288] It must be noted, however, that even this group of the horde did not wish to choose Ishim as khan except under certain conditions. They asked that he become an independent sovereign (autocrat), that he not recognize the suzerainty of Russia, and that to this end he should withdraw into the interior of the steppes toward the Syr Darya. Ishim, who was accustomed to basing all his hopes on the protection of the Russian rulers, informed the Orenburg authorities of the demands of his people himself, adding that Syrym's followers were not only preventing him [664 681] from trying to find the bandits and pursue them, but were also exacting from him a kun /blood price/, or payment of 2,000 sheep, for having sent to Orenburg shortly before two Kazaks who were famous for their banditry. Ishim's frankness and his promise not [643] to go away from the Russian border led the government to use all its efforts to cause him to be elected khan. In mid-September of

[296 cont.]

[646] studs, to avenge themselves for the thefts and offenses committed [727] against them by the Bashkirs. Finally, this group decided to withdraw into the depths of their steppes and did not agree to come near the Russian borders except on the invitation of General Viazmitinov, the commander in chief of the Orenburg region.

[692] In 1798 it was ordered that a tribunal be established, after the example of the Little Horde and on the request of Khan Vali, in the fort of Petropavlovsk, for the judgment of suits and disputes between the Kazaks of the Middle Horde and the residents along the Siberian border. This tribunal, made up of deputies of these two peoples, was organized in 1800, but the Kazak members let several years pass without appearing, so that it was not opened until 1806.

Here we end the detailed description of the Kazak hordes. [714] Having shown everything which took place among these peoples until the end of the 18th century, we will not speak of the events of the 19th century. The time which has passed since its beginning is still too close to us, and the judgments we could bring to this period would seem either partial, or misplaced, or doubtful.

We consider it necessary, however, to mark the transition between the past and the present by indicating briefly the order of succession of the khans of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde of the Kazaks.

[643 576] Vali, who succeeded his father in 1781, reigned until his death, which came in 1818. However in his last years he was not the sole khan of the Middle Horde, for because of [297] his quarrels with several tribal chiefs and at the request of several Kazaks, in 1816 Emperor Alexander designated a second khan for this horde, who was Bukei, son of Barak, and who died in 1818.

[631] With him the title of khan died out in the Middle Horde. Today it is divided into districts and governed by a special regulation which we will enter at the end of this work. [This section not translated.]

[643] Aichuvak ruled the Little Horde until 1805 and then abdicated of his own accord because of old age and illness.

His successor was his son Djantiura, who was assassinated by his cousins, the sons of Khan Nurali, and their accomplices.

[297 cont.]

[643] After his death the Little Horde was without a khan for more than two years. In 1812 his brother Shirgazy, who is still alive [1832], was elevated to that position, but he no longer rules the horde, because it too has been divided by the government into three districts, whose chiefs are independent of the khan.

[643] At the same time as the elevation of Shirgazy, that is, in 1812, Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, was appointed the khan of the Kazaks who had come with him from the left bank of the Ural into the government of Astrakhan and had since then been given the name of the Bukei Horde.

Bukei died in 1815, leaving several sons, of whom the eldest, Dhangir, was appointed khan in 1824. He is still governing the Kazaks who live in the government of Astrakhan.

This is the end of the list of the Kazak khans who have been recognized and confirmed by the Russian government. We do not include among them Barak, or Batyr, or Kaip, or his son Abulgazy, for, as we have said previously, they were not elected except by a small number of their partisans. The last, in spite of his title, was according to eyewitnesses (1), almost reduced

1. See the memoirs of Dr. Bolshoi, who was taken prisoner by the Kazaks in 1803.

[298] to a state of mendicancy. His power and influence over the people was so weak after Batyr Syrym, that we would not even have mentioned him if he himself, his brothers and his children, among whom Sultan Arungazi must be particularly distinguished, did not continue to stand out for their hereditary hatred of Abulkhair's descent
578 line. We have followed the constant progress of this mutual hatred between the two families for a whole century. Our readers know that it already existed between Abulkhair and Kaip at the beginning of the last century.

It passed from them to their children, and to their grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, among whom it still continues today and who will carefully transmit it to their descendants, perhaps for another century or even more.

[300 cont.]
161 divisions of these hordes into several parts, he will be fully convinced that an exact census of this people is absolutely impossible.

Thus it is necessary to be content with information, no doubt quite uncertain, which they themselves have transmitted to the
162 Russians and which is far from resting on adequate data. The result of this is that the three hordes are composed of approximately 400,000 tents or families, and that of this number, the Great Horde has about 75,000, the Middle Horde 165,000, and the Little Horde 160,000 (1).

[161] 1. Since the beginning of the 14th /19th?/ century, the Little Horde has suffered considerable losses in men, as much through internal dissensions as through misunderstandings with their neighbors.

The number of individuals living in each tent is not always the same, but there is good ground for believing that the truth will not be distorted in carrying it to five or six, on the average. Consequently, the Great Horde would have 375,000 to 450,000 persons, the Middle Horde about 1,000,000, and the Little Horde about 900,000, while the three together would make up from 2,000,000 to 2,400,000 persons of both sexes.

Chapter II. Division of the People.

631 No matter what differences in origin are attributed to the tribes which make up the nation of the Kazaks, they have all been fused into a single people living in the same country, which [301] in olden times was subject to a single chief. The proof of this is in the language, the religion, the customs, and the habits, which are everywhere the same.

643 The traditions confirm this, adding further that at the death
173 of one of their khans, who had reigned over the entire nation, his three sons divided it among themselves, and that according to the order of birth of their respective chiefs, these three divisions

[301 cont.]
643 adopted the names of the Great (1), the Middle, and the Little
173

1. The other hordes regard the Great Horde as the oldest.

161 Horde. Tradition also has it that the difference in population of
631 the groups was caused by war and varying success, and as the
● divisions gradually increased, each one divided into several descent lines which took the names of their chiefs or kept the names of their ancient ancestors, such as the Naimans, the Kipchaks, etc. The descent lines were subdivided in turn into tribes, and the latter into sections, the sections into branches, and the branches into parts. It is almost impossible to enumerate all these subdivisions. The work necessary (2) for such an enterprise would

[115]

2. What zeal and love for genealogy one would need to have to decide to verify and examine the reports of the Kazaks! One says that his tribe is divided into five or six sections. Another asserts that it is divided into twelve. A [302] third confuses the sections of his tribe with those of the neighboring tribes. Finally, a fourth, who is more honest than any of the others, frankly admits his ignorance.

require too much patience and, above all, a long sojourn among the Kazaks, not only in every tribe or section, but also in every part of a section.

621 Thus we will limit ourselves to enumerating the descent
631 lines and the tribes, beginning with the Little Horde, as the
611 closest to Europe. We base ourselves on Tevkelev's memoirs
[114] written more than a century ago. (See the historical section [not translated]). In the opinion of the Kazaks themselves, the information contained in these memoirs is worthy of the greatest confidence, both by their precision and by the circumstances under which they were written.

[301 cont.]

The Little Horde

631 619 611 At its time of origin the Little Horde was composed of the powerful Alchin descent line and of seven small tribes, which, during the [302] civil wars and reprisals (baranta (1)), were not

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1. Among the Kazaks, the name baranta is given to the raids they make against each other, most often as reprisals or as a consequence of hereditary vengeances.

strong enough to resist the Alchin descent line, which was more numerous, but were combined by the famous Tiavka, khan of the Kazaks, into a single descent line which is known today as that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod). The ancient name of Alchin is still found in Khan Abulkhair's correspondence with the Russian government in the first half of the last century. This descent line was composed of two stocks, called Alimuly, that is "the sons of Alim," and Baiuly, that is, "the rich sons." Later the new subdivisions which took place in this horde caused the generic name to fall into oblivion. But the names of the two stocks, to which the name of the descent line belonged equally, survived. For this reason the Little Horde is divided today into three principal parts, namely: I. The Alimuly descent line; II. The Baiuly descent line; III. The Djetir-urug descent line, or that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod).

1. The Alimuly descent line is composed of six tribes, whose names are Kara-Sakal, Kara-Kissiek, Kitie, Dört-Kara, Chumekei, and Chikly.

II. The Baiuly descent line is composed of the following 12 tribes: Adai, Djapas or Yapas, Alacha, Baibakty, Maskar, Bershch, Tazlar, Issentemir, Cherkes, Tana, Kizyl-Kurt, and Shikhlar.

III. The Seven Tribes (Semirod) descent line is composed of tribes which are called Tabyn, Tama, Kerdery, Djagal-Baiuly,

[302 cont.]

631 Kereit, Tiliau, Ramadan (2).
619
611

2. Some sections of the Middle Horde camp with the Little Horde, and likewise [303] some sections of the Little Horde are mixed with the Middle Horde. This fact does not destroy the genealogy of the nation.

[303]

The Middle Horde

The Middle Horde is divided into four descent lines: I. The Argyn; II. The Naiman; III. The Kipchak; IV. The Uvak-Girei.

The latter, like the Seven Tribes descent line, was formed by that same Khan Tiavka out of three tribes which will be named below.

I. The tribes of the Argyn descent line are Kara-Kissiek, Karavul-Kissiek, Chardjitim, Djandjar, Chakchak, Dört-Avul, Atygai, Altai, Tebich, Tabakly, Borchi, Karpak, Bassantien, Agysh-Kalkaman, Kandjigali, Koziugan, and Kukshal.

II. The tribes of the Naiman descent line are Ak-Bura (1),

1. Ak-Bura means "white wolf."

Bulachi, Kara-Girei, Tirs-Tamgaly, Dört-Avul, Kuk-Djarly, Irginiekly, Semis-Baganaly (2), and Sadyr.

2. Semis-Baganaly means "those who have fat lambs."

III. The tribes of the Kipchak descent line are Tori-Aigyr, Tuiuchka, Kytabak, Bultun, Karabalyk, Kundelien, Tana-Buga, Uzun, Kuk-Boron.

IV. The Uvak-Girei descent line is made up of the tribes of Uvak, Girei or Kirei, and Tarakly.

[303 cont.]

The Great Horde

631 The Great Horde originally was composed of the Uisiun or
619 Usiun, Tulatai, and Sargam descent lines. Later the Konrat or
611 Kunrat descent line detached itself from the Middle Horde and joined the Great Horde.

From these first descent lines the following tribes issued: Botboi, Chimir, Djanis or Yanysh, Sik-Am, Abdai-Suvank, [304] Sary-Suly, Chanych-Kily, Kanly or Kankly, Djalair, etc.

II. The Konkhrat descent line formed the following tribes: Bailar-Djandjar, Uras-Geldy, Kuldjegach, Bochman, Tok-Bulat, Yaman-Bai, Kura-Kusia, Etimlier, Kuyush-Kansyz.

Each of the tribes is divided into sections. A section is composed of parts, and the latter also have their subdivisions, and all have different names. For example, the Maskar tribe of the Baiuly (in the Little Horde) descent line has two sections, namely: Kutlu-Gadam and Massak. The Kutlu-Gadam section is made up of two parts called Kurman and Baba-Nasar. The Kurman part has three subdivisions, which are Atamkan, Umier, and Kudaigul. The Baba-Nazar part has two subdivisions: Abdu-Shokur and Djidik.

What a volume the names of all these subdivisions for the three hordes would make! Without wearying the reader with such
761 an enumeration, it will suffice to say that the increase of popula-
178 tion among the Kazaks is constantly giving rise to new subdivisions, and that the original names of the descent lines will end up by being lost. In this manner, the Baiuly and Alimuly have ceased to bear their generic name of Alchin. It also develops from this that there are Kazaks who do not know what descent line they belong to and know only the name of their tribe and their section.

It can be concluded that in a hundred years most of the names of the Kazak branches which we have cited will no longer exist except in the Russian archives and in the memory of a few old men.

565 In addition, these subdivisions concern only the common
611 people. The upper class has another genealogy. This is why
643 the Kazaks divide themselves into two estates, the White bone

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311 establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177 in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181 present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579 the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372 provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

175 643 631 /144 cont./ After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance broke up into smaller units. Each of its sultans tried to seize power, and the dissensions among them led to the ruin of the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance. Later, 200 years after the death of 175 Kasym-khan, the unifier of the Kirghiz-Kazak, his people again 619 appeared on the scene of history in the form of three political 631 unions, known by the names of Elder, Middle, and Younger Hordes. (1).

[101] 1. We consider it necessary to note that that the current names of the hordes as Great and Little characterize the hordes wholly incorrectly and also render the sense of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ words unfaithfully. Uly means elder, ancient, and not great in the sense of quantity (especially as this horde is smaller in number than the others). Kshi does not mean little (in sense of quantity), but younger.

648 175 619 63 614 [101] In the first quarter of the 18th century "there arose the designations of: the southeastern Kazak clans of the Dulat and Kangly as the Elder (uly) Horde, being the most ancient Turkic tribes occupying the lands of the Kazak alliance; the Kypchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kerei as the Middle (orta) Horde, being the later comers; and the tribe of the Alchin and the clans separated from the tribes of the horde as the Younger (kshi) Horde" (Aristov). At this time all three hordes, who had been pushed from their southeastern lands by the Kalmyk, were wandering in the basins of the Ishim, Nura, and Sary-Su rivers. In 1723 the Dzungarian ruler, Galdan-Tsyren, conquered the clans of the Elder and Middle Hordes. The invasion by the Dzungarians and the Kalmyk forced the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes to move west to the Aral and Caspian seas and north to the upper courses of the Ishim, Ural and Tobol rivers. The Younger and Middle

175 /144 cont./ the Younger and Middle
648 Hordes, pushed by their enemies from the south to the so-
619 called Gor'kaya line, were obliged to recognize Russian sov-
631 ereignty. The relations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to their sultans and khans were free. They recognized their authority as long as their interests coincided with the views of the autonomously
175 ruling clans. In 1730, Sultan Abulkhair of the Younger Horde
643 asked the Russian government to accept his people as subjects.
648 He did this partly because he feared an invasion of his lands
619 by Galdan-Tsyren, and partly with the intention of strengthen-
614 ing his power, which was tottering because of the enmity be-
631 tween the sultans. In the 18th century the sultans Ablai /or Ablay/, AbulMambet and Barak of the Elder and Middle hordes became the rulers of the people by utilizing their good will. Ablai, the most populat of the khans named by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, carefully avoided subjecting the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to a foreign power. Some of the clans of the Middle Horde accepted Russian sovereignty under the son of khan Ablai in 1782, and under Bukei /or Bukey/ Khan, the sonsof Barak, at the end of the 18th century. Certain clans of the Elder Horde accepted Russian sovereignty in the 19th century in the person of their sultan Syuk-Ablaikhanov. Later, by the third quarter of this century all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clans had gradually recognized Russian rule except the Naiman and Kerei. /145/ These, after the annihilation of the Dzunguarian kingdom by the Chinese in the third quarter of the 18th century left the present Akmolinsk oblast to go to their old lands on the Tarbagatai and Black Irtysh, and from there into China.

175 The Kirghiz /Kazak/, who had never known a sovereign
648 power, which would have been unfeasible in the free steppe, where from time immemorial the traditional form of power had been concentrated in the hands of an autonomously ruling clan and its leaders, became part of the population of the steppe oblasts in the 19th century. Although they had acknowledged their dependence on the Russian government, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ did not reconcile themselves to this position at once, and even attempted to reestablish their independence later.

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populations. -- The size and growth of the cities. -- The density and large numbers of people in the Russian and Kirghiz /Kazak/ settlements. -- The distribution of the population by sex, class, and religion. -- The ethnographic make-up of the population. -- General remarks on the "Sibiriak," Belorussians, Little Russians /Ukrainians/, and other nationalities in the region. -- The Siberian Kazak /Cossacks/. -- The Ural Kazak /Cossacks/. -- The peasants. -- The Kirghiz /Kazak/.

H.T. 131

The Kirghiz krai occupies a total area of 1,606,687 versts, which is equal to one-third of all of European Russia (including Finland, Poland, and the Caucasus), or one-third of all of Western Europe, while the area of each of its oblasts is equal to the area of the principal states of Europe.

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Administratively, the Kirghiz krai comprises four military oblasts: the Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Ural, and Turgai oblasts. These oblasts were established in 1868 from the lands of the Siberian and Orenburg Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the lands of the Siberian and Ural Kazak /Cossack/ armies for greater convenience in administering the Kirghiz /Kazak and the Kazak /Cossack/ armies, and at the same time great changes were made. The "Statute on the Siberian Kirghiz /Ustav o Sibirskikh Kirgizakh/," which had determined the life of this borderland until then, was abolished, and a new "Temporary Code for the Administration of the Steppe Oblasts /Vremennoe Polozhenie ob Upravlenii v Stepnykh Oblastiakh/" was introduced (now somewhat changed). By this code the Kirghiz /Kazak/ lands were recognized as state property and put at the disposal of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ only for communal use, while considerable changes were introduced in the administration. The power of the sultan was abolished, as well as the orders from the districts. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ were allowed an administration of their nationality (elected from

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/175 cont./
their midst). The yassak tribute /per capita fur tribute/ was changed to a collection from each kibitka and various other reforms were introduced.

/176/ The military and civil administration was entrusted to the military governors of the oblasts from this time on. In addition to this, the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, together with neighboring Semirechye, formed (in 1882) the Steppe Governor-Generalcy. The small administrative divisions for both the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the Russian population are the uyezds.

The Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts are divided into five uyezds each, and the Ural and Turgai oblasts have four uyezds each, so there are 18 uyezds in the entire region. In addition, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the Russian population are broken up into volosts. There are 55 volosts in the Akmolinsk oblast, 84 in the Semipalatinsk oblast, 60 in the Ural oblast, and 54 (?) in the Turgai oblast. The volosts are subdivided in turn into nomad villages /aul/, and these are divided into kibitkas (yurts). Elected Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- the volost elders -- head the volosts, and they are directly subordinate to the uyezd chief.

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[631]

In addition, the Siberian Kazak /Cossack/ army is an independent administrative establishment within the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, as is the Ural Kazak /Cossack/ army in the Ural oblast.

The Siberian Kazak /Cossack/ army was founded by the first military colonists of the region -- the "serf Kazak /Cossack/," including various kinds of military men -- policemen, Don Kazak /Cossacks/, Ural Kazak /Cossacks/, Bashkir, Tatars, Little Russians /Ukrainians/, etc. The well-known Kasak /Cossack/ writer Usov has characterized the Siberian army in these words; "It was not the independent product of the land colonization of the borderlands, like the Don and Yaik Kazak /Cossack/ armies, but came forth fully armed from the hands of the administration and was completely indebted to the government for its existence. This feature has made an impression on all its later history. Throughout its existence, the government, without the

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8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 3

SOCIETY

PATTERN OF KAZAKH SOCIETY

61 The traditional social organization of the Kazakhs is founded on a series of genealogies. These genealogies, transmitted orally from father to son, are carefully traced, and mount generation by generation to the founding ancestor of the lineage. In these lineages and throughout Kazakh society, descent is traced only in the male line from a common ancestor. A number of lineages comprise a clan, all of whose members trace descent from a common ancestor. Still wider groups of Kazakhs are embraced by a common descent line into confederations of clans comprising the hordes of the Kazakhs, the Great Horde, the Middle Horde, the Little Horde, and the Inner or Bukei Horde.[1]

611 The kinship bonds of blood and descent extend only to those related on the father's side; kinship through the mother's side is carefully distinguished from it. By far the most important relationships are those with the father's kin, although a certain amount of respect is due to the mother's relatives. The social structure which will now be analyzed is that of the kin related in the paternal line.

619 614 In its purest form, the Kazakh social structure is formed of a series of concentric rings. The largest ring, which encompasses the entire Kazakh people, comprises the system of hordes, which are in turn composed of clans; the hordes are confederations of clans traditionally unified under a leader or khan. In the distant past, all Kazakhs were united in one horde, under a great khan, but this tradition is now only a weak memory which has not evoked strong feelings of Kazakh unity for many centuries. On the other hand, the hordes which emerged from the breakup of Kazakh solidarity in the 16th century continued to play a social role well into the 19th century, and the Kazakh knows his horde and clan affiliation to this day. Both clans and hordes had a firm authority pattern; each horde had a khan, and at the head of each clan ruled a chief or beg.

61 631 Kazakh clans in their turn are composed of lineages, the lineages of kin villages, and the kin villages of families. All the units of Kazakh society are territorial units; the distribution of the hordes over the steppe has already been described. Within these hordes of the past,

[1] See Chapter 1, Regional History and Socio-cultural Setting.

each clan had a territory distinctly its own, separated by widely recognized boundaries from the territories of neighboring clans. Lineages within each clan likewise had pasture lands of their own, the land of each lineage separate from the others; villages had separate lands for their own grazing, and known routes over which they moved from pasturage to pasturage in a fixed annual round.[1]

There is thus a correlation between neighborhood and kinship; the closest neighbor of the Kazakh household head was most likely to be his brother, father, father's brother, or father's brother's son. This close relation between the two social bonds is of more than theoretical interest; it has been the basis for an ideological warfare among various Soviet camps in different periods of recent history. Another feature of Kazakh society clarifies this relationship between kinship and neighborhood. The social bond of the Kazakhs, the means whereby two individuals demonstrate their membership in the common society of Kazakhdom, is the genealogical tree. Because of Kazakh nomadism, the relationships among the different branches, whether clans or lineages or villages, are loose, occasional. If two Kazakhs meet and are unknown to each other, they trace their genealogies for each other until a common ancestor is found. This common ancestor then becomes the point of reference for the two, the means whereby they establish whether they are more or less equals, or if not, which is superior. The ancestor in common establishes a basis for mutual aid and cooperation.

The number of generations traced in the genealogies to a common ancestor determines the closeness of the relationship; the fewer the generations, the closer the kinship, and the closer in space are the villages, camps, and pasturages of the Kazakhs. These genealogies are the membership roll, the constitution, the charter of incorporation, and the historical record of the different groups; they are either recited baldly, in answer to questions concerning ancestry, or they are the skeleton around which folk epics are created.[2] These folk epics, which have suffered a peculiar fate under the Soviets, are long recitations or chants concerning the deeds of the ancestors. The Soviet-era epics of Djambul are quite different; Djambul's so-called epics are songs in praise of Stalin.

Kazakh descent lines are not all equal; a father who is the founding ancestor of all the members of a horde or clan or village may have several sons, who are ranked according to their order of birth, the eldest son having the highest rank. The descendants of the sons will then recognize among themselves a relative rank order according to which of the sons they were descended from. The father or founding ancestor of the entire line is himself a member of a still larger group with rank according to order of birth and descent.[3]

The division of Kazakh society into social classes is also related to the ranking of descent lines. The same ties of blood and common

[1] Radloff (105), 1891, pp. LI-LVI.
[2] Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 305 ff. For a genealogy still preserved today, see Mukanov, 1947, pp. 1-28.
[3] Khazanin, 1889, pp. 41-42.

[Great Horde]

616 and reflect a mode of organisation in the imperial past
619 of these peoples. But the principle of dual organization has a kinship referent in the sense that members of one wing regard themselves as more closely related to each other than to the other wing only insofar as the entire society is united by a common mythical genealogy, and hence by a common kinship bone.

An identical situation is found among the Kara-Kirgiz, who are divided into two: the On (right) division, and the Sol (left) division. These two groupings are not equally numerous; the On or right is much greater than the Sol or left. They are variously organized internally; the On is further subdivided into six groupings, the Sol into seven.[67]

619 In the Great Horde we note that only one of the
●631 two great divisions is in its turn dually organized.
171 The indigenous term for the Great Horde is the Ulu yüs or Great Hundred.[68] The concept of hundred in the Altaic steppe society relates to politico-military organisation. The armies of Chingis Khan were commanded by decurions, centurions, chiliarchs, and the Kalmuks through the 19th century had a series of sub-divisions imposed by the central Khanate into tens, forties, and

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[67] Radloff, op. cit., I, 230-231.

[68] Ibid., 235.

[Great Horde]
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hundreds (cf. chapter on Kalmuks).[1/A] However, in the case of the Kazakhs the concept Hundred has been extrapolated from its context as an administrative unit of the politico-military organization and has become a generalized term signifying a major social unit.

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Of the social structures in the Great Horde of the Kazakhs, only the clan and its composite units will be considered in the following; divisions of Kazakh society greater than the clan must be left aside. All of Kazakh society is bound together by a genealogical bond, and a system of united lines of real or assumed common descent. All Kazakhs have therefore an actual or fictive kinship with each other, in the paternal line. But while the hordes were composed by means of these structural principles, they also had a state structure of sorts, with rulers, courts, taxes, levies of troops, certain quasi-permanent coercive organizations, and so forth, even maintaining international relations. The Kazakh state structure, in a manner comparable to that of the Kalmuk or of a Khalkha Mongol principality, had features which magnified in size, but did not change in kind, patrilineal-agnatic features of the clan, the lineage, and the extended family. Other features of the Kazakh state, on the contrary, had little to do with consanguinity but were quite comparable to the foundations of any state, whether Oriental or western.

1/A [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 208ff. --Analyst]

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[Middle Horde]

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619 Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no
[616] trace of any dual organization in its major divisions. Instead, it was divided directly into six clan federations: the Argyn, the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman, the Kirei, and the Uwak.[167] That these federations bore distinctive names is of interest, that these names are archaic is even more so. Four of these names have a great historical tradition, occurring both in the ancient Turkic records and in the Secret History of the Mongols; these are: the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman and the Kirei or Kereit. Another tie with the Mongol steppe, the historical scene of both Orkhon texts and the Secret History, is in the name Argyn; there is an Argun River in northwestern Manchuria, forming the border with Siberia.

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[77] The Middle Horde Kazakhs of the 1820's had not yet come under Russian cultural influence to any significant extent. Yet even at this time, the practice of polygyny was restricted to the wealthy families: a rich Kazakh might have from three to five wives, while a poor Kazakh had but one. Infant betrothal was practiced, while marriage took place at age twenty at the latest. On marriage the father outfitted the son with one or more tents, livestock, clothing, felts, according to his means; for then the son became of age. But the relationship was a

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[167] Valikhanov, 162; Aristov, Zametki, 350. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 326, mentions only five of these federations, omitting the Uwak.

101 the Great Horde; and it was further along in the process
177 of acculturation than the Great Horde. A Middle Horde Kazakh could adopt a "Russian" point of view and have the public opinion of his community support him in it a full generation anterior to even a remote envisagement of such a situation in the Great Horde. However, no significant difference in small-scale social structure, whether in the corporate entities or in the kinship relationships, can be detected.

000 Note: Appended to this chapter is material gathered on the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde during the period of the First World War and the 1920's. It is separated from the body of the Kazakh materials since it represents an era removed from the preceding one by a war and a revolution.

The Little Horde: Clan and Lineage

101 The Little Horde, Kazakh kǐy yüz, literally Little Hundred, occupied the steppe between the Middle Horde and European Russia, stretching from the area north of the Aral Sea to the Ural River. The steppe between the Ural River and the Volga was in turn occupied by an offshoot of the Little Horde, the Buket, or Inner Horde
631 during the 19th century. In the structure of the Little
616 Horde, certain marks of a dual organization are to be
69 observed: it consisted of two major divisions, the Alchyn and the Djăttï-uri. The Djăttï-uri in turn were sub-

[Little Horde]

637 divided into seven clans. The foregoing is the version
616 given by Radlov.[172] Aristov, on the other hand, reports
619 simply the existence of ten clans in the Little Horde, and mentions no more inclusive groupings than these. One of his groups is named the Alchin, however.[173] Radlov further indicates that according to his data, the Alchyn were further subdivided into two sub-divisions, the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, the Alim-uli again into six sub-units, and the Bai-uli into ten. A part of the Bai-uli broke away from the Little Horde, moved across the Ural River through an agreement between their leader Bukei and the Russians, and occupied the steppe between the Ural and the Volga which had formerly been the pasture land of the Kalmuks.[174]

611 The elucidation of the functions of these greater
619 divisions of Kazakh society, the horde and its principal segments, are mentioned briefly in this context merely to indicate that the web which tied them together was a common patrilineal descent, traced back to immemorial time by oral tradition to a mythical ancestor. Eventually all Kazakhs are agnatically related in this manner.

161 The combined Little and Inner Hordes numbered about 190,000 families according to various estimates between

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[172] Radloff, op. cit., 237-241.

[173] Aristov, op. cit., 380.

[174] Radloff, op. cit., 237.

1 [Cf. cat. 619, p. 462 — Analyst.]

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 177.4 565 tion of the structural outlines, a loss of fluidity which can best be shown by examining units smaller than the lineage, such as the village and family.

614 422 The chaotic situation in which the larger descent groups found themselves in by the 1920's--aside from the rigidification of the structural principles--may be seen in the loss of the clan war-cry and cattle-brand. The war-cry or uran now appertained not to the clan, but to the entity which has been identified as the major lineage or byr top. The cattle markings, which were literally ear-marks, tamga, cut into the cattle's ear, were distributed by component sub-lineages or sŏök, of the byr top.[265]

613 177.61 601 [631] Acculturative influences, both economic and political in manifestation, have acted to deprive the Kazakh clan and lineage of many functions. Administratively, the Kazakhs were now settled, in a hierarchy of Russian units, the uezd, the okrug, the volost'. These have remained to this day, with the exception of the volost'. Residence and the distribution of camps, pasturages, etc., have come to be reckoned by administrative units, such as the uezd among these Kazakhs, and one of the incidental effects of acculturation has been the sharpening of the dŏien relation.[1] This has taken the following form: In the Altai district (okrug),

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[265] Samoilovich, 310-311.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 509ff. --Analyst]

1: Barthold 3-4 (no date) 1927
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Ki KAZAK RQ2

177 the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation. An autonomous "territory of the Ḳarā Ḳirghīz" or Ḳirghīzistān has now been constituted with Pishpek as capital (the term "Ḳarā" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated).

Ka 101 Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the Ḳazāḳ; they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the Ka 175 separation of the Ḳazāḳ from the Özbeg, cf. the articles ABU 'L-KHAIR and ḲAZĀḲ. The whole of the Ḳazāḳ people was for long under the rule of one Khān who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; Khān Ḳāsim (d. 924 = 1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Özbegs in the xvi^th century, the Ḳazāḳ still had a strong nomad kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of Khān Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Khān ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar [q. v.], was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warā al-Nahr and even later still held the town of Tāshkent. In the xvii^th century the power of the Khāns only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time Tāshkent and Farghāna were usually in the possession of the Ka Ḳazāḳ, sometimes under nominal recognition of the suzerainty of the Khāns of the Özbegs. At ●[631] this time must have taken place the division of the Ḳazāḳ into three "Hordes" (called by the Ḳazāḳ themselves *djüz* "hundred"); the great horde (*uluʿ djüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kiczi djüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta djüz*). Towards the end of the xvii^th century this division was already an accomplished fact. Khān Tyawka, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistān and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of Sairām, Tāshkent and Turkistān were conquered by the Kalmucks. For a short period after this the suzerainty of the Khān of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Ḳazāḳ and the agreement Ka doing this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white [648] horse but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, Abu 'l-Khair negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the xviii^th century; but it was not till the xix^th century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the Sīr Daryā, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. Ka 177 The eastern part of the steppes was administered from Siberia and the western from Orenburg; re- [565] gulations for the government of the Siberian Ḳazāḳ were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the Khān's authority, the descendants of Čingiz Khān or "Sulṭāns" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Ḳazāḳ called "white bones", *aḳ sūyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last

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